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ABSTRACT

The study, a literature review, examines the critical factors affecting re-entry women's access to jobs and their chances of obtaining and retaining work at a level appropriate to their capacities. An examination of the re-entry woman deals with socialization and self-concept, changing attitudes, and new expectations. Bias against women among the professionals to whom they turn for aid is documented, and the potential danger of placing a sex-fair interest inventory in the hands of a sex-biased counselor is pointed out. New concepts concerning the re-entry woman as student, in the work force, as family member, and as achiever are cited and recommended to counselors interpreting interest inventories. The discrimination against women desiring training for a second career is discussed. The paper examines selected material from various inventories as examples that are seen to affect the usefulness of an interest inventory in relation to the reentering woman. Language, items, instructions, and interpretive materials are discussed, and recommendations are made for each area, as well as for counselor education and for research. (AJ)

DRAFT

THE USE OF INTEREST INVENTORIES WITH THE RE-ENTERING WOMAN

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/I/t is plain that opportunities for re-entry women are, in the main, restricted to the traditional women's professions of teaching, nursing and social work; to work in offices and shops, in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs in manufacturing, industry and in service occupations. The limitations which affect the employment of women generally irrespective of age or marital status, are made more acute by the special problems of older women who have been absent from the labour market for a number of years. Under these conditions, many women fail to obtain the level of work of which they are capable, to their own and the community's considerable impoverishment. It is, therefore, important to examine the critical factors affecting re-entry women's access to jobs and their chances of obtaining and retaining work at a level appropriate to their capacities (Seear, 1971, p.17).

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A counselor has an appointment to give an interest inventory to a woman who is 45 years old, a college graduate whose children are in secondary school. Also waiting is a woman who is 32 years old, a high school graduate who wants to get a college degree. Her last child just entered kindergarten. Down the street a personnel agency is administering an inventory to a 40 year old woman who wants to get out of the secretarial job she has been in for 10 years. She is divorced and her children are in elementary school. Also waiting is a 50 year old high school drop out who may be able to get a government grant for re-training if she finishes high school. She is presently taking care of her daughter's two pre-school children while her daughter works.

What in the world is to be done with these women? Can they seriously be given interest inventories to any advantage? And if they do discover expanded interests, what good will it do? What college will take them? If they are accepted, where will they get the money to go back to school? What employer will hire them? They are unskilled. They lack up-dated tools. They are too old. By the time they get re-trained or re-educated they will be even older. Anyway, what are they going to do with those children who are certainly their responsibility?

Still, there they are. Wanting to go back to school. Wanting to go back to work. Wanting meaningful jobs. Hoping the inventory will provide some direction.

The counselor and the personnel director have made the appointments. What are their responsibilites to these women? Does responsibility begin and end with the administering of

the inventory plus a brief session to interpret the results? The test makers and publishers have sold their instrument to a consumer. What are their responsibilities to see that the test is sex- and age-fair?--to help the counselors help the women make the best use of the information the women receive from the inventory?

On the surface, the interest inventory offers an opportunity to indicate freely and without reservation where one's interests lie. Presumably neither reward nor punishment will follow one's expression of interest. It is a non-threatening way for a person to simply indicate interests. Yet, in spite of the appearance of freedom of choice, there may be at least three overall factors limiting the choices that the woman makes and/or the use she is able to make of her choices.

The first factor may be in the cultural set of the woman taking the inventory. Is she self-censuring her expression of interest (albeit non-consciously) because of conflict between home and career; because she was brought up to believe only certain interests were appropriate for women; or because she considers it "too late" to make certain choices?

The second factor may be in the cultural set of the counselor administering and interpreting the inventory. Is s/he affecting the outcome of the interest inventory because of attitudes concerning the appropriateness of

women working; the kind of work they do; or the age at which they begin?

The third factor may be in the nature of the interest inventory itself. Does the content of the inventory--language, instructions, items, etc.,--create a limiting sex or age bias for the re-entering woman? Does the counselor manual provide sufficient information on counselor attitudes and how these attitudes may affect the use of the inventory? Does the counselor manual provide sufficient information on the attitudes the woman may bring with her which may prevent an accurate expression of interests? Do the interpretive materials provide sufficient information to the counselor and the woman on how she might proceed in order to make the best use of the score interpretation offered to her?

Answering these questions becomes increasingly important as one becomes aware of the numbers of mature women entering the work force and the academic world. The growth of the Continuing Education for Women programs in recent years (Dolan, 1965), generally thought to be a white, middle class phenomenon, is being further expanded by mature women of minority and/or poor groups also entering the colleges of America in ever growing numbers (Miller, 1973). To consider the question of guidance materials for the mature woman as an unimportant matter is no longer appropriate and will become increasingly less appropriate as this decade advances.

> Compared to the social context within which a person lives, his or her history or "traits," as well as biological makeup may simply be random variations, "noise" superimposed on the true signal which can predict behavior (Weisstein, 1970, p. 108).

Socialization and Expectations

A basic consideration to keep in mind is that career development for women is hardly ever a matter of simple progression and growth as it generally is for men. Women are expected to give their energies only to maintaining the lives of their families rather than to creating lives of their own (Verheyden-Hilliard, 1973). Coser and Rokoff (1971) note that women live with a "cultural mandate [p. 538]" to give priority to the family even though they may be working. As Epstein (1972) concludes: "Somehow women are taught to consider anything inappropriate if it makes primary demands on their time and is not available for taping by others [p. 38]."

Recognizing that women have been socialized to the belief that the needs of others always come first, we can begin to understand why a career for women is a matter of choice, and most probably a painful choice (Komarovsky, 1953). The choice involves double standard decisions about whose career should have priority--that of the husband or of the wife (Gray-Shellberg, Villareal, & Stone, 1972); about family responsibilities, time and money for training (Lyon, 1967), the recognition of the difficulties to be encountered in going against the traditional view of women's role (Lewis, 1968) and the realization that the choice, however painful, must be made over and over again

as women's aspirations conflict with the desires and careers of their husbands (Leland, 1966). As Hawley (1971) noted, women tend to make career decisions based on their perception of what they think men will tolerate.

> Thus, while American society continually emphasized equality of opportunity and freedom of choice, social pressures toward conformity to the sex-role stereotypes tend to restrict the actual career choices open to women (Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz & Vogel, 1970, p. 6).

The socialization to the sex-role stereotypes which later affects mature women begins early. As Entwisle and Greenberger (1970) have shown, ninth grade children, both black and white, when asked if wives should work showed the greatest disagreement between middle class girls who said "yes," and middle class boys who said "no" and the disparity was especially marked among those youngsters of high I.Q. What this suggests is that girls with the most intellectual capability to develop a career when they are grown are the ones most likely to meet oppostition from their husbands. However, the black boys surveyed were more accepting than the white boys in their attitudes toward wives working.

Black men apparently carry the acceptance of women working into their adult life. Axelson (1970) found that over half of the black males in the sample did not object if a wife worked if she wanted to, but less than half of the white males were willing to grant this freedom of choice. Other studies on younger men andwomen of minority and majority groups have indicated substantially the same thing (Kichter,1972). Steinmann and Fox(1970)found

in a college-age study, that black women perceive the views of black men more correctly than white women perceive the views of white men--white women felt that white men wanted them to be primarily family oriented while the white men said they wanted women to be both other- and self-directed. It is possible to hypothesize that white women may be interpreting and reacting to a deeper level of male attitudes than the Steinmann and Fox study picked up. For instance, Gray-Shellberg et.al., (1972) found that the sample of college men in their study were "significantly more anti-feminist [p. 247]" than the non-college sample. Lip-service to feminist views may not be the same thing as actually practicing those views in close, personal relationships. As Epstein (1973) notes:

> Girls are not only led to believe that they endanger their heterosexual relationships by aggressiveness in thinking, initiating and exploring, but they in fact encounter punishment by their male peers who may support their activity ideologically but reject them in favor of girls who make them feel important [p. 397].

Some adult women may also be restricting their abilities out of the same fear of the same kind of "punishment." It becomes not so surprising then to discover that when the Department of Labor (Hawley, 1971) surveyed 66,000 working women in 1966, only 4 percent worked in oppostion to their husbands' wishes.

In the Farmer and Bohn study (1970) of 50 working women, 25 married and 25 single, all over 40 years of age, the level of career aspiration was raised when, on the second application of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank for Women, the women

were given instructions to "pretend" that men and women are promoted equally in business and the professions, that raising a family well is possible for a career woman and that men like intelligent women.

To fault women for the ambivalence they have about careers for themselves and to ask "why can't a woman be just like a man" is like asking a black man of some years ago why he didn't just rise up and do something about his situation. To ask that question bespeaks a certain lack of understanding as to what socialization can do to self-concept. Interestingly enough, Hoffman (1972) cited a study of conformity and perceptual judgement (Iscoe, William & Harvey, 1964) which indicated that black boys and white girls were influenced by others more than were black girls and white boys. The converging groups were not similar in sex or race but they apparently did share the same environmental handicaps.

Black women's relatively greater participation in the work force in comparison to the participation of white women has historically reflected the need of the woman to take care of herself, and any others for whom she felt responsible, because of intense discrimination against black men. Perhaps because of the always present role model in the black culture of women working, black men have not seen that role for women as "strange," so that when opportunities, however few, developed for black women at the middle and upper levels of occupations, black men and women saw this move as a step up to be taken advantage of rather than as a step out to be viewed as abandonment. As black men take their places in ever-increasing numbers and at

all levels of the heretofore all white male occupational structure, it will be interesting to note whether they will be able to maintain their accepting attitude toward women working or whether they will adopt the present attitude of the majority male culture.

In regard to attitudes toward acceptable female role models, the comments of Eleanor Holmes Norton (1970), black civil liberties lawyer and Chair of the New York City Human Rights Commission, may offer some insight to those who have a more traditional idea of women's "place":

> At the moment when the white family is caught in a maze of neurotic contradictions and white women are supremely frustrated with their roles, are black women to take up such troubled models? . . . Can it serve us any better than it has served them? And how will it serve black men? . . . On the road to equality there is no better place for blacks to detour around American values than in foregoing its example in the treatment of its women and the organization of its family life [p. 356].

Whether socialized to stay home to take care of children and working husbands or socialized to go to work to take care of children and husbands who are not allowed to work to their potential, women are serving the needs of some "other." The decision about how to proportion her life in regard to family and career has not rested with the woman and the results of that frustration are becoming increasing visible in our society.

Changing Attitudes and New Expectations

> There I was, forty-five, my children on their own, my husband a success, and all I'd been doing for twenty years was making

> like a wife, mother and hostess. Nothing I'd been doing seemed important to anyone anymore. Everyone seemed to be telling me, "go away, don't bother us. You're finished--die (Westervelt, 1973, p. 7)."

The attitude of the married, mature woman towards what society perceives as her "place" and her willingness to accept that perception as correct may be changing far more rapidly than we realize. Beyond, or in spite of, the limiting factors and concerns which affect the way women think about their role and which may limit their ability to use an interest inventory in a manner most beneficial to them, there appears to be something else surfacing in the literature which bears careful scrutiny.

In a study of gifted girls and women, Groth (1969) found that at approximately age 40, having filled the homemaker role for a number of years, the women's intellectual needs, frustrated and surpressed since adolescence rise to the surface and are expressed in needs for self-actualiztion, recognition and careers. Seifer (1973) reports that white, ethnic, working class women, working in and out of their homes are expanding their roles and seeking a greater equality. A survey of blue collar wives between the ages of 20 and 49 (Spokeswomen, 1973), in eight metropolitan areas of Chicago revealed that one third of the women showed an increased interest in careers for themselves and in community involvement outside their homes. In 1973 these women wanted only two children or less compared to 1965 when they wanted four children. This changed attitude

of the blue collar wife prompted the chairman of the corporation doing the research to say: "Our society will never be the same again. The blue collar woman comprises 60% of all women. She has spent decades as one of the most stable, unchanging groups in American society [p. 47."

The Gray-Shellberg et.al., study (1972) on the resolution of career conflicts is often cited to show that there is a double standard in regard to what is considered to be an appropriate occupational decision for a man or a woman. Also contained in that study, however, are indications that marriage may be a factor in breaking down sex-role streotypes and that"once women have experienced the ultimate goal that society has socialized them for, they are less completely motivated to forgo self-expression in favor of self-sacrifice[p. 177." The Hawley study (1971), which revealed that women's career choices were affected by women's perception of what significant men in their lives would think was an appropriate choice, also disclosed that women who were married tended to answer questions nearer the androgynous end of the scale. The married women felt that men made fewer distinctions between "male" and "female" intelligence than did unmarried women.

Bardwick (1971), Groth (1969), and Gray-Shellberg et.al., (1972), all postulate that after having been married and having children, women are more likely to consider themselves free to pursue their own interests. It is at this point that the mature woman, in search of her future, may seek a counseling service in an academic, agency or business setting.

The Counselors

It is necessary to recognize and deal with the concept that bias against women is held so often by the professional to whom she turns for aid.

Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz (1972) found that the clinical psychologists, social workers and psychiatrists in their study all considered that "healthy" women differ from healthy men [and from healthy adults sex unspecified] by being more submissive, less independent, less adventurous, less objective, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more excitable in minor crises, more emotional, more conceited about their appearance, and having feelings more easily hurt [p. 70]." If such is the ideal of what a "healthy" woman should be, it would give anyone pause before suggesting that such a person undertake a demanding career. The important thing to remember about the Broverman study is that the clinicians were not indicating an opinion as to the way women are, but the way they felt "healthy" women should be. Broverman et.al.,(1970) suggest that this view conceals "a powerful, negative assessment of women [p. 8]."

Neulinger (1968) cited by Broverman et.al., (1972) writes: "the sex orientation of this society is not only shared, but also promoted by its clinical personnel" because a woman is not seen as an adult who should function optimally but rather as an "affiliative, nurturant, sensuous playmate who clings to the strong, supporting male [p. 554]."

In a sample of 35 females and 24 males representing five professions: case workers, case worker supervisors, teachers

research psychologists and consultants, Kaley (1971) found that case workers and married professional men expressed negative attitudes toward women who are attempting a dual role with family and professional career. Age, education, race and professional experience of the participants did not correlate with negative attitudes toward the dual role but sex and profession did. Certainly this bias will affect the aspirations for further education or better job status of women whose lives depend on case worker approval of their actions.

The "specter of covert discrimination against the 'liberated woman,' unintentional though it may be" is raised by "non-liberal" counselors who view politcally active and left-oriented women as more maladjusted than identically described males (Abramowitz, Abramowitz, Jackson & Gomes, 1973, p. 391).

Counselors, both male and female, displayed more negative bias than positive bias towards female counselees expressing an interest in engineering as a career, not because of the woman's lack of ability but because the counselors felt engireering was a "masculine" field (Pietrofesa and Scholssberg, , 1970). Women who expressed an inderest in engineering were also considered more deviant and in need of counseling than young women expressing an interest in home economics which was seen to be a more appropriate goal by both male and female counselors (Thomas and Stewart, 1971).

Eyde (1970) suggests counselor bias may be based on misconceptions concerning women's willingness to make a

commitment to their jobs. Bingham and House (1973) found that counselors, both male and female, deny being aware of well-publicized information concerning the number of women who work and the discrimination they encounter in the business and academic worlds. Bingham and House conclude that this indicates a negative attitude toward women.

The preceeding studies of counselor attitudes give us reason to hypothesize that the re-entering woman as well as all other women may have a severe problem getting reasonable support for their interests unless those interests indicate a choice which is essentially traditional, conservative, submissive, nurturant, dependent, sensuous, unaggressive or some combination thereof. Furthermore, if the counselors are themselves denying or lacking information on the problems facing women in the world of work or academia, they are certainly not in any position to provide the woman with the information or support she will need as she proceeds toward her goals. The need for "increased attention, in clinical and counseling psychology training programs to the problem of examiner bias (Abramowitz et.al., 1973, p. 391)" would seem to be very real indeed.

Ironically, the problem of counselor bias may even be intensifed by the development of inventories which are truly free of sex bias. Women using an unbiased inventory may be more likely to express interests which counselors have heretofore considered "deviant." The most sex-fair inventory imaginable will be useless, if not downright harmful (consider being told how deviant you are and how in need of counseling because you want to pursue a particular career) in the hands of a sex-biased

counselor (however unconscious and unmalicious that bias may be). The responsibility of the test makers and test publishers to protect women from further denigration by providing information imbedded in the inventory package (and therefore more difficult to deny or ignore) which would be supportive of women wishing to move in new directions and enlightening to counselors with misconceptions or biases would seem to be urgent and unassailable.

New Concepts Concerning the Re-entry Women

As Student

Concerned about age and appropriateness, mature women may limit their expression of interest or feel themselves unable to pursue an interest if it requires further schooling. Counselors may also hesitate to encourage the mature woman to begin a college program or pick up at graduate school because of age and/or length of time elapsed since the woman's last educational experience plus concerns over family responsibilities. This may cause the woman to consider and the counselor to advocate the pursuance of lower status occupations than the woman's interests indicate or her abilities warrant. Both the women and the counselors need to know that contrary to stereotypic notions of the capabilities of students over the traditional age, women who enroll in graduate school after a substantial time-out period from educational pursuits are more motivated to achieve than younger women or undergraduates and they are more successful in leaving behind cultural restraints in regard to women's achievement (Lubetkind, 1971). Typically, the mature woman attending graduate school has two or three

children and takes care of her family herself. She is in graduate school because she wishes to achieve and develop a career (Withycombe-Procato, 1969). Probably the numbers of married women in school would increase if their class time could be scheduled at the same time as their children's classes (Osborn, 1973).

The factor which mitigates against the mature woman pursuing her interests with further education is the discrimination she encounters at every level in her role as student--financial aid, admissions attitudes, assistantships and guidance (Randolph, 1965). Financial barriers affect the whole economic spectrum from the middle class woman who will not divert the family's financial resources from her children's education in order to further her own goal, to the poor woman who has little money for necessities and none at all for advanced education. Older women as well as young women of high ability but low socio-economic status are the largest group of academically well-qualified people who are not attending college (Cross, 1971).

Trapped at home taking care of children or trapped in low-paying jobs, any woman's desire to upgrade her situation is futile unless a way can be found to provide the financial means to undertake the change. Mature women often require financial assistance for two reasons: 1) to defray the cost of training and education and 2) to support and care for her family while she prepares herself for advancement. The question of day care, which affects the choices women from all socio-economic groups are able to make, cannot be ignored (Steinmann, 1070). For the increasing number of women who are heads of households (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973) the problems are intensifed.

Women without sufficient education or training lose the ability to benefit from or even remain in the work force (U.S. Department of Labor, 1970a).

Recognizing that "many of the persons who are most desirous of a latter day education are women with families to support (Miller, 1973, p. 398)" and recognizing that graduate students without dependents receive more financial assistance than those who may need it most--students with dependents (Hunter, 1967), we can see that counselors need to be aware of the problems of the re-entry woman as student and willing to try to help her solve them if the women are to make any effective use of the interest inventory. The development of non-stereotypic, superior counseling may be one of the most important factors in the success of the mature woman, whether of majority or minority group as returning student (Lloyd-Jones, 1958; Miller, 1973; Osborn, 1973; Westervelt, 1973). An opportunity exists for the test makers and test publishers of interest inventories to provide counselors with information related to the needs of mature women which would help make that kind of counseling possible.

In the Work Force

Although the numbers of women-in-general in the labor force have increased only slightly since 1940, a definite trend is apparent in the rapid increase in the number of mature, married women who are working (Oppenheimer, 1967, 1970). The 320 (sic) percent increase since 1940 of working married women is apparently not caused solely by poverty line incomes. In

families where the husband's income is $10,000 or more, a third of the white wives and about half of the black wives were either working or looking for work (Waldman, 1972).

The percentage of married women (husband present) who are in the work force peaks for white women between the ages of 45 to 54 years at 46.7 percent. The peak for black women and women of other races peaks between the ages of 35 to 44 years at 56.7 percent. The highest total of all married women (husbands present) in the work force is 47.3 percent between the ages of 45 to 54 years. For comparable ages in 1940 the percentages are up 36.6 for white women and 26.2 for black women and women of other races (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973).

Of the women who work, 7.4 million had children from six to 17 years of age; 2.1 million had children three to five years of age; and 2.1 million had children under three years of age. That is, 4.2 million mothers of pre-school children are working (U.S. Department of Labor, 1970c).

Women who work average 5.7 sick days a year as againt 5.5 sick days a year for men. Women are chronically sick less than men and have fewer acute conditions due to injuries than men (McKiever, 1965). While the sex-differences in turnover rates of federal career employees is negligible, the turnover rate of middle aged women is less than that of younger men (Maslow, 1970). Men and women of <u>similar</u> job level and with <u>similar</u> length of service have absentee records and job turnover rates that differ little from each other (U.S. Department of Labor, 1969).

The women of America can expect to work 25 years if they are married, and 40 years if they are not (Schwartz, 1967). The

woman worker of the '70's is older, married, living with her husband, a high school graduate with some post-secondary school education (U.S. Department of Labor, 1970b).

This profile of the impact on and behavior of women in the work force does not seem to coincide with the usual cluster of stereotypic notions concerning women's work habits such as 1) a woman works only as a stop gap measure until Prince Charming sweeps her off her feet, 2) she never returns to the labor force until forced to through his desertion by death, divorce or separation, and 3) when women do go to work they are usually absent and probably will quit the second week to get married or have a baby.

Being aware of the non-stereotypic demographic facts may help to improve the quality of counseling young women receive in high school and college and certainly the counseling for the prospective re-entry woman if, as Eyde (1970) suggests, counselor bias may be caused by misconceptions of women's willingness to make a commitment to a job. The mature woman needs to know and her counselor needs to know that she is not a strange over-age non-conformist. Rather she is part of a group, the married, mature woman, which constitutes the majority of the female labor force in this country.

In terms of interest inventories the need seems clear. Her interests must be taken seriously. The occupations of women are not the peripheral or unimportant consideration in respect to the totality of their lives that counselors and indeed the women themselves have been led to believe. What one does for 25 to 40 years of a life ought to warrant careful consideration of interests and abilities in order to provide

job satisfaction as well as security.

Although more women are working now than in 1940, that same length of time has seen a 10 percent decrease in the numbers of women in the professional and technical occupations (Chess, 1969). "The undigested challenge for educators is that most women who now join the labor force do so after the age of thirty-five in jobs well below their capability [p. 62]." It is time for this challenge to be digested and dealt with by the counselors of mature women. The test makers and publishers can help by providing an enriched interest inventory package with the information the counselors need in order to correct misconceptions or offset biases concerning women.

As Family Member

> The small representation of women in the professions and in high status positions is a logical consequence of women's cultural mandate which prescribes that their primary allegiance be to the family . . . . Once the premise of this mandate is granted, women who have or wish to have careers are said to have a "conflict," and this conflict is seen as a source of disruption of the social order (Coser et.al., 1971, p. 535)."

Twenty years ago the 1950 White House Conference papers stated that the family had an infinite capacity to change both in its composition and in the way it cares for the children. The papers suggested that it is possible for the family to share the care of children with other social institutions yet retain overall responsibility for them (National Manpower Council, 1958).

The question of the effect of maternal employment on the children continues to loom large in the mind of the prospective re-entering woman. Yet Nye and Hoffman (1963) found that the problems of working mothers with their children do not increase over the problems of non-working mothers and that working mothers show a more positive attitude in their relationship with their children. Findelman (1966) indicates that children did not see parental roles any differently when mothers worked. The Women's Bureau (U.S. Department of Labor, 1973) concludes that whether or not mother works is not the determining factor in juvenile delinquency.

Kaley (1971) found that married professional women had a positive attitude toward their dual role whereas Orden and Bradburn (1969) indicated that a woman's perception of her marriage was one of strain when she worked but that the children of the marriage were not under strain.

The strain of the double burden of career and home responsibilities may lessen somewhat for women with husbands present. Working mothers do fewer of the household tasks and their husbands do more than in the traditional marriage. The greatest difference to be found between men who helped with household tasks and those who did not was <u>not</u> based on race or social class but on whether or not their wives worked (Gillette, 1961; Blood and Wolfe, 1960).

Feelings about money earned by the married woman vary from study to study. Orden et al., (1969) found that both partners were less happy if the wife worked to support the family rather than if she worked simply because she wanted to.

Nye and Hoffman (1963) found that tension is reduced in the family if the husband does not have to shoulder the whole provider role alone but rather can share it with his wife.

As society in the '70's expands its consideration of alternative life styles which allow for greater participation of the man in the life of his family and allows the woman greater participation in the life of the world, the re-entry of women will be smoother and less abrupt. Presently, however, because of the cultural mandate of her family role, a woman has a pattern of educational and work development different from that of a man. She also carries a burden of concerns centering around the socialization to always consider the needs of children and husband first. These concerns will effectively limit her choices unless she is helped to see alternatives.

Some men pursue their own needs and careers regardless of the effect on their wives and children. But being considerate of and caring deeply for his wife and children while still engaging in the development of a career is possible for many men and, indeed, is probably the ideal toward which boys are socialized. Girls are socialized to be considerate and to care deeply but the parallel independent development is not the ideal. As was discussed earlier, the socialization for girls says they must choose. Effective counseling should present the parallel as an alternative and an effective users handbook and counselors manual might contain material to help the woman pursue parallel independent development.

As Achiever

McGowan and Liu (1970) studied 168 middle aged women who were attempting to develor various commitments beyond the parameters of their family and found the group profile of these women showed them to be highly intelligent, adventuresome, assertive, very creative, relaxed, reserved and affected by feelings. They were within a psychologically healthy range and creatively productive.

The middle aged women who pursue commitments outside their family should not be assumed, I suggest, to be only middle class and educated whether of majority or minority groups but should be recognized to include those women, black and/or poor, who have often been the movers and doers of inner city life as community workers and political activists and these women, as well as their more affluent sisters, black and white, are also in need of non-stereotypic counseling. "These /black and/or poor/ older women students are coming into the undergraduate student body of this country in ever increasing numbers and they will have to be reckoned with (Miller, 1973, p. 398)."

Clearly stereotypes of mature women as dilettantes or dingbats when they attempt to begin a second career outside their homes must give way to new concepts, for the re-entering woman indicates a cluster of personality traits which have much in common with what other studies have shown to be the personality traits of achieving women.

Bachtold (1972) studied women listed in Who's Who in America and Who's Who of American Women as bilogists, micro-

biologists, chemists and bio-chemists, ranging in age from 46 to 60. She found these women, as a group, to be more serious, confident, dominant, radical, intelligent and adventuresome, less social, group dependent and sensitve than women in the general population. Bachtold also found, as did Diamond (1971) that men and women as professionals in the upper occupational levels showed strong similarity in their personality scores.

The characteristics of women holding executive managerial and other high level positions in business were found by Bryce (1969) to include self-assurance, decisiveness, the ability to supervise others and above-average intelligence. Stevens (1973) concluded that high job placement readiness coincided with dominance, tough mindedness and low neuroticism. Of the 101 females and 50 males in the Stevens study, those who were tough minded, independent and non-neurotic had specific job goals and self-actualized behavior. They were also highly successful in getting jobs.

Although Bachtold and Bryce, as noted above, studied women in non-traditional careers there was no indication of psychological "deviance" because of the choice of occupation. As Almquist and Angrist (1970) noted, atypical careers do not reflect deviant experiences which are associated with personality maladjustment but rather reflect experiences which have broadened and enriched women's options.

Counselors interpreting interest inventories need to be aware of the implications of the preceeding studies and

others like them. As Helson (1972) points out, studies of career interest in women "which show career orientation in a favorable light [have] received very little attention [p. 39]." As was discussed earlier, as the inventories become more sex-fair, thereby allowing a broader range of options to women, it becomes even more urgent that the woman who may demonstrate assertiveness, adventuresomeness, creativity and high intelligence combined with possibly atypical interests not be counseled about the "deviance," "unfemininity," and "inappropriateness" of her behavior.

The Second Career

The mature woman is constantly faced at the re-entry door with the question which is in her own mind and in the minds of those she is approaching--"Is it too late?" From some quarters she gets an expected, stereotypic answer: "Yes, it is." In other quarters, the concept of a second career, now quite familiar in the male world, is being extended to the re-entering women. Business, industry and government do not think it unusual to train and retrain the men whom they wish to work for them. As William H. Miller, the marketing vice-president of American Oil Company suggests (Bird, 1971), there is no reason to discriminate against women in this area either:

> So some women do take time out from the jobs to have children. Some men leave one company to go to another or to start a business of their own; some men crack up on a job and must be replaced; some men become seriously ill or die before they reach the normal age of retirement. Some become alchoholic.

Management doesn't refuse to hire or promote them just because these things happen [p. 44].

Like Sojurner Truth (1972) who wearied of listening to the prejudices against women passed off as concern for their womanly "delicacy" while ignoring the kind of work she, herself, had been doing although she certainly was a woman, I would ask this question: if it is not too late for the re-entering woman to spend the remaining years of her life standing behind a file cabinet, or scrubbing the floors in an office building, or standing behind a dimestore counter or sitting behind a typewriter, why is it so terrible and "too late" for her to spend a percentage of that time educating or training herself and then being hired to spend her remaining years in work that is rewarding, worthwhile and commensurate with her abilities. Must we believe that society wants, and needs, to keep her in her place so that the menial jobs of the world will have a ready labor supply?

Epstein (1971) notes that it will be "extraordinary" if a woman's "intelligence and application bring equal rewards from a society that has promised her nothing less than equality [p. 177]." Keeping that in mind our goal might be to see that she takes the most sex fair inventory imaginable and that an aware counselor with an enriched inventory in hand aids her in every way possible to successfully pursue her interests--and thereby begin to make good on those promises.

The Interest Inventory

Other papers are dealing indepth with the problems of sex-bias in career interest invnetories as it effects technical issues of scale development and criterion and norm group composition, test orientation and interpretation, item content legal issues, impact of inventories on career choice, and inter-relation of social class, race and sex bias. The reader is referred to all of these papers for broad and basic considerations of the specific issues with which they deal which effect the re-entering woman. This paper will examine selected material from the various inventories as examples that are seen to affect the usefulness of an interest inventory in relation to the re-entering woman.

Language

Of the six inventories surveyed, The American College Testing (ACT) Interest Inventory, The Kuder DD Ocupational Interest Survey, the Minnesota Vocational Interest Inventory (MVII), the Ohio Vocational Interest Survey (OVII), the Self Directed Search (SDS), and the Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory (SCII), four--Kuder DD (excepting its new, in press Interpretive Leaflet), MVII, OVII and SDS appear to show the effects of Strainchamps (1971) contention that English is the most masculine language in the world. In the above four inventories (with the noted exception) all pronouns used to refer to test takers or test administrators are masculine. There are no "shes" taking or administering these inventories if language is any indication.

The ACT Interest Survey and proposed SCII and the Kuder DD interpretive leaflet are free of single sex references (so

far as could be determined). ACT and Strong-Campbell have demonstrated that there is no question any longer as to whether it is possible to write such an inventory. It is only a question of whether or not it will be done. Paraphrasing Diamond's (1972) discussion of the masculinity-femininity scales, I would suggest that the generic use of the masculine gender is also a concept whose time has passed and the the use of "he" to denote all persons of unspecified gender who are giving or taking an inventory is no longer acceptable for any reason.

Some uses of language are not expressly masculine but have a masculine or social class flavor. Under Part VII of SCII, the person is asked to write yes or no after "Stimulate the ambitions of my associates." "Associates" has a masculine and/or professional flavor and is probably related to social class as well. Except possibly women professionals--a very small group indeed--women generally, and lower socioeconomic groups of women in particular, do not refer to those around them as their "associates" but rather as friends or acquaintances. Adding "friends and associates" might make it more likely that women would respond positively if they so desired.

Occupational Titles

The Bureau of the Census Occupational Classification System has revised its occupational titles in order to identify and modify those titles which imply sex stereotypes. (Statistical Reporter, 1973). Fifty two of the job categories have been modified. Some of the interest inventories need to review their titles for the same purpose. However, it may not be sufficient to change mailman to mail carrier or salesman to sales person or housemaid to house cleaner. Many titles such

as electrician, typist, surgeon or nurse, although carrying no visible sex identification require almost brain wrenching effort to picture the non-traditional sex in the role. One way to help people, whether male or female, to extend their options would be additions to instructional and interpretive material which suggest laying aside pre-conceived ideas concerning what are "appropriate" interests for men or women. This "sanction " to express an interest whatever it may be is really no different than the sanction already included in many inventories to express an interest even though the taker has not had the pre-requisite training and may not know whether s/he has the necessary ability to develop the interest.

Items

In the SCII under Part IV Amusements, one of the choices is "Church young people's group." Traditionally, minority and majority women of all ethnic backgrounds and all socio-economic groups and religious persuasions have often pursued a social life in conjunction with a religious institution. Removal of the words "young people" to allow the item to read something like "church related social group" would allow adult women to respond positively if they so desired and would eliminate age bias in this item. (In every inventory where the word "church" is used another word should be found which would recognize the diversity of the American religious experience and thereby eliminate the present religious bias in the inventories.)

Instructions

In the SDS test booklet [p. 4] the user is instructed to "blacken under 'D' for those things you are indifferent to, have never done, or do not like." The taker, who may have a

lengthy list of things she has never done is prevented from indicating an interest in exploring new areas. It is quite possible that she has never taken a wood working course, or an auto mechanics course or a chemistry course and she is, therefore, required to write that she "dislikes" these activities. Although under "occupations" [p. 87] she is allowed to indicate that the occupation of chemist interests her, the fact that under activities she has been forbidden to say she would like to take a chemistry course will affect her final summary score, making it lower in chemistry, for instance, then it might be. The assumption appears to be that one can't be that serious about occupations one has not already experienced in some manner. That assumption is particularly discriminatory of women with limited educational backgrounds and/or traditional backgrounds and allows them little opportunity to expand options. The socialization of women to avoid certain areas plus the fact that they have been summarily barred in most high schools from taking shop or mechanics courses is not taken into consideration. Neither is consideration given to the fact that schools from which mature women graduated a number of years ago may not have offered a selection of science courses from which to choose. But most importantly the restriction ignores the fact that many mature women may now be ready to consider areas which they formerly deemed closed to them.

If the SDS is to be a diagram of where a person has been, that is one thing. If it proposes to suggest how a person may move in expanded directions that is another. And a person should not take an inventory expecting the latter when s/he is in reality, getting the former.

Single Sex Inventory

The manual of the MMVI states clearly what it aims to do: "to provide systematic information on the interest patterns of men in nonprofessional occupations" and to aid the counselor in working with the "large majority of persons planning to enter skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled occupations . . . [p. 7]."

Government statistics showing that 34.1 percent of women working are in skilled or unskilled positions (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973), are an indication that MMVI could usefully prepare an inventory for both men and women to aid counselors working with women in the same category. In a "description of the inventory" on page 8 of the manual the complete list of items is as follows:

x	a.	Tune a piano
	b.	Cook a meal
	c.	Change a tire on an automobile
		------
y	a.	Varnish a floor
	b.	Learn to use a slide rule
	c.	Repair a broken connection on an electric iron
		------
z	a.	Putter around in a garden
	b.	Take part in an amateur contest
	c.	Cook spaghetti

This is not a list of activites impossibly foreign to women's considerations.

In the manual of the MCII, the homogenous scales are derived by "identifying clusters of items that are related to each other." This could provide a base for women, as well as men, to look at related fields in a way which might expand

their job choice. This would be similar to Cole's (1971) suggestion of cross matching related structures of men's and women's interests. To the woman with less education who cannot, at the time, go on to further academic training, this inventory exploring health and food services, office work, mechanical, electronic and sales fields, as well as opportunities in the outdoors would offer expanded options.

The Navy, for which the MVII was originally prepared, is now opening its doors to women at all levels. It would seem an appropriate time for the MVII to do the same.

Age of User

Although some of the inventories declare themselves to be for use with high school or college students, that would not, on the surface, eliminate their use with the re-entering woman. She may be, educationally, at the high school or college level. Most items seem acceptable for all ages. Whether or not the technical aspects of an inventory expressly directed toward a young group would be suitable for the re-entering woman will be discussed in the paper on technical aspects.

Recommendations

The need for counselors and personnel workers to be specially trained to deal with the special concerns and motivations of the mature woman has been recognized for many years (Letchworth, 1970; Myers, 1964; National Manpower Council, 1958; Ruslink, 1968; U.S. Department of Labor, 1966). The test makers and test publishers can serve a need by providing material in

the interest inventory package which will help with that training.

The makers and publishers of interest inventories cannot be expected to change the world by themselves, nor are they responsible for biases and misconceptions the test takers and the test administrators bring with them. But the interest inventory could be enriched with information providing a new view of the mature woman which will help the counselor and the woman deal with their own problems of bias and self-concept. For the instrument to have any deep usefulness, simple sex-fairness in the matter of language, items and so on, followed by benign neblect of the crucial effect of socialization will not do the job. Affirmative action in the way of instructional and interpretive material plus follow up information is what is needed.

For the Interest Inventory

Instructions. Being a member of an extremely diverse group ranging widely in the matter of age, skills and educational level may not be the primary problem for the re-entering woman as she takes an inventory. Quoting Craven (1961), Kuder (1971) wrties "Expressed interests . . . represent conscious efforts to integrate pressures and needs, hopes and aspirations[p. 2]." Kuder then goes on to say "These efforts might result in a false picture of the individual's interest . . . [p.2]." In like manner, the problem of the re-entering woman may be that her socialization has been so intense that the inventory may still be picking up only expressed interests rather than measured interests.

In order to help women to feel free to express their own unencumbered interests, it may be necessary for the printed and/or verbal instructions to state something like:

1. Pretend you have no responsibilities, or marriage, or children.
2. Express your interest regardless of any conflict you feel it might cause with other considerations in your life.
3. Do not let your present age, measured against the amount of training you may think a certain interest requires limit your expression of interest.
4. Put aside concepts of what is "appropriate" work for a woman (or man).

Even before the instructional stage has been reached, the counselor should have orientation materials suitable for a preliminary discussion of sex-roles, home-career conflict, the "appropriateness" issue.

If test makers and publishers of interest inventories are after measured interests rather than expressed interests, the provision of a "sympathetic set (Farmer and Bohn, 1970, p. 230)" in the orientation and instructional materials may be a major factor in attaining their goal.

Interpretive materials: counselor's manual. In order to offset either counselor bias or misconceptions, the manual should provide a discussion of the "new" concept of the mature woman in terms of ability, commitment, statistical information on her role in the work force and the educational world. Infor-

mation should be provided on the effects of socialization in regard to home-career conflict, "appropriate" work and the woman's probable need for support in order to break through traditional role concepts. The manual should also include guidelines for Title VII and IX and EEOC in order to aid the counselor in assisting the client to deal with the discrimination she is sure to encounter. The question of the counselor's own personal bias should be raised and dealt with in some non-threatening manner.

Interpretive materials: users' handbook. In order to ensure that the client is not totally dependent on the counselor for the information she needs a Users' Handbook should be provided. Like the counselors' manual it should contain a discussion of the "new" concept of the mature woman in terms of ability, commitment, statistical information on her role in the work force and the educational world. Information should be provided on the effects of socialization in regard to home-career conflict and the idea of "appropriate" work for women and men. The handbook should also include guidelines for Title VII and IX and EEOC in order for the client to be knowledgeable about her rights as she proceeds.

These enriched interpretive materials would obviously go beyond simple reporting of test scores and would help the woman to act affirmatively on the results she has received. The next stage, as those concerned with women's employment are fully aware, is to find new openings and to raise the general level of women's work. This requires a change of attitude on

the part of employers, of the general public, and not least of many of the girls and women themselves. Emphasis is placed both on the need to persuade women to take more full advantage of the opportunities which already exist, and on the need to pioneer opportunities (Seear, 1971, p. 107).

An enriched interest inventory could be a major factor in helping women accomplish the "next stage."

For Counselor Education

The question of counselor bias has been raised more than once (Abramowitz et.al., 1973; Bingham et.al., 1973; Broverman et.al, 1970, 1972; Dewey, 1974; Eyde, 1970; Neulinger, 1969; Pietrofesa et.al., 1970; Thomas, et.al., 1971; Weisstein, 1970). All of the above studies have touched on some aspect of the bias women are likely to encounter in guidance situations. Moreover, the above studies may not be a complete list.

The question of sex-bias clearly needs to be taken up in a meaningful way in the training programs of all those involved in guidance for women.

Curricular materials such as textbooks, audio-visuals and reading lists probably do not reflect unbiased attitudes toward women and could usefully be surveyed and supplemented.

Discussions should be begun on how to best reach not only the practicing counselor but the counselor educator whose affect on the attitudes of new counselors is likely to be considerable through the influence of personal attitudes and interpretations as well as the decision the educator is able to make regarding the kinds of materials which are selected for classroom use.

For Research

On women. Whether mother worked, whether she stayed home, whether she earned too much money, whether she ignored or s'mothered her children, whether she didwhatever she did has almcst always been researched as to the effect of her activity on some other. Research is needed on the woman herself. What are women like who successfully carry out a dual role? How did they get that way? What has negative effects on her? What "works" for her. What can we learn that will help other women? Are there models and guidelines for the successful development cf parallel growth of family and career life for women which can be filtered out and made available for other women's consideration? Perhaps more than descriptive research, we need to know the hows and whys of women's different life styles and roles.

Research on women--as differentiated from the effects of their activities on others--has been a very scarce commodity and in no way reflective of the fact that women represent more than half of the population, all of the wives and mothers, and 40 percent of the country's work force.

On Undergraduate and graduate guidance teaching materials. Many groups are presently engaged in the study of sex-biased curriculum materials used in grades K through 12. Curriculum materials which are used to teach counselors have not been as carefully surveyed. What are those books saying in regard to "femininity," "appropriate " female behavior and projected adult roles? Counselors dealing with women giving new responses to new kinds of tests are going to need some new answers.

On Continuing Education for Women Programs. Older CEW programs such as those at Sarah Lawrence College, The George Washington University and the University of Minnesota, to mention but three of the better known, have been and are being followed by a burgeoning growth of CEW programs across the country. Who are the women these programs serve and what are their needs? What additional services must be provided in order to reach an even larger segment of the potential re-entry population? As more and more women return to school, the CEW programs become a crucial re-entry point and standards, attitudes and programs which have most effectively facilitated the re-entry woman's pursuance of her goal need to be recorded and disseminated. Research is needed on effective CEW programs in order to develop models and guidelines.

Conclusions

The makers and publishers of interest inventories surely do not see themselves as hucksters (a very unlikely idea one would suppose) who simply sell their patent medicine product to the druestore giving hardly a thought to the outcome of the use of that product on the individual who comes to the drug-store looking for help. That being the case, they will, perhaps, see that there is a need, which they can responsibly fill, for an enriched inventory to help the individual get the most benefit from taking an interest inventory.

Counselors and personnel directors must also make a decision. Are they simply going to be "in the middle" passing along test products to their customers in the manner of

drugstore clerks handing patent medicine over the counter, or do they feel they have a deeper interpretive and supportive role to play in understanding what this instrument means and can mean to each individual? The test administrators are not yet in the position of the physician who allegedly cannot keep up with the new medicines. There are not that many inventories that a counselor could not read and screen them all carefully. If counselors do little but sit in the middle then the test can nearly be equated with a placebo and whether or not it helps will be nearly totally dependent on the mind set of the client and neither the counselor nor the test will have had the maximum effect of expanding options.

Surely counselors want to be more than drug clerks and surely interest inventories should be more than placebos. Counselors must take on this responsibility and the test makers and publishers must help them in their undertaking or as Goldman (1972) has suggested, pigeonholing rather than developing potential will continue as the outcome of testing. In which case, as he also suggested, perhaps another way for assessment should be found.

Guideline Summary

1. Elimination of generic language.
2. Elimination of sex-labeled jobs i.e., "craftsman," "repairman."
3. Elimination of age references i.e., "young people," "young woman" when it serves no test-related purpose.
4. In the same way the test taker is enjoined not to let lack of ability or training hinder an expression of interest, the orientation and instructional material should enjoin the taker to put aside concerns about home-career conflict, "appropriateness" of kinds of work for women (or men) and considerations of age.
5. Development of Counselor Manual which would include discussion of women's need for support in breaking through traditional role; new concepts of the mature woman; new concepts of "appropriate" work for women; statistical information on mature women's work habits and ability as employee and student; guidelines for Title VII, IX and EEOC; and discussion of possible counselor bias.
6. Development of User's Handbook that the client can take with her, thereby making her less dependent on the counselor. It should include discussion of new concepts of the mature woman; new concepts of "appropriate" work for women; statistical information on mature women's work habits and ability as employee and student; guidelines for Title VII, IX and EEOC; generalized "next steps" on how to proceed in entering the business or the academic world.

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Footnotes

[1]For purposes of identification only: Coordinator, Education Task Force, Washington D.C. NOW, National Organization for Women; Counselor, New Horizons for Women, Continuing Education for Women, The George Washington University.

[2]I am indebted to the following compilations and abstracts for the leads provided to relevant material:

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